

ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE IN POLITICIANS' TWEETS: A STUDY OF IMRAN KHAN AND BILAWAL BHUTTO'S TWITTER DISCOURSE

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Abstract:

This study aims to analyze illocutionary speech acts using a mixed method approach in the political discourse produced on Twitter by two leading Pakistani political leaders, Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto. Data was collected in text form from the public Twitter handles of both aforementioned politicians. Alston's taxonomy of speech acts was used to tag data through the UAM Corpus Tool. The findings of the study reveal that both politicians use more assertives, followed by expressives, and a few instances of directives. However, they completely avoid the use of directives and exercitives because of their limited power and political roles. This study has implications for the general public as well as academicians in the field of Applied Linguistics and Mass Communication, as this will provide them with an insight into political discourse and the possible intentions behind the language use of their political leaders.

Keywords:

Speech Act Theory, Illocutionary Speech Acts, Alston's Taxonomy, Political Discourse, Imran Khan, Bilawal Bhutto

1- INTRODUCTION:

Social media refers to forms of interaction where individuals produce, share, and exchange information and views in online groups and networks. Communication is a two-way process that includes the exchange of information between a speaker and a listener. Internet-mediated communication has transformed society as a whole, bringing together millions of individuals from a variety of sociolinguistic backgrounds to share ideas and express needs and wants (Tsoumou, 2020). In the case of social media, the exchange of information takes the digital form, which is sent to masses of people with just one click. Twitter is one of the most popular social media handles having approximately 450 million users across the world (Antonakaki et al., 2021). It is also the most widely used channel by public figures across the world to interact with their fans and followers (Bednarek et al., 2022). Politicians especially use Twitter the most to connect with their political workers and to propagate and reiterate their ideology to the masses (Neogi et al., 2021).

Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto are the chairmen of the two leading political parties in Pakistan, i.e., PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf) and PPP (Pakistan People's Party), respectively. They have 18.7 million and 5 million followers, respectively. They mostly use their Twitter handles to give important information, propagate their beliefs and their ideology and motivate their workers to perform in their favor. While doing so, they produce written discourse on Twitter in the form of Tweets, which are basically their utterances and can also be called speech acts. Austen classified speech acts into locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary speech acts. Illocutionary Speech acts are utterances produced with a specific intention in mind that you want the listener or reader to fulfill.

The purpose of this comparative analysis of two political leaders, Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto, is to study the intentions of these political leaders under study and to analyze the illocutionary forces behind their tweets.

Research Problem:

Donald Trump's Twitter discourse was analyzed, and it was revealed that he incites his followers through his tweets, which results in aggression and violence on their end (AlBzour, 2022). Therefore, it is important to study Twitter discourse with reference to people, particularly politicians, as politicians often have discursive discourse, i.e., meanings are differently constructed in it. Considering the importance of Twitter discourse and discursive discourse in politics, it is important to critically study and evaluate Twitter discourse.

Research Objectives:

The objectives of this study are:

- To find the kind of illocutionary speech acts used by Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto in their Tweets.
- To analyze the reasons behind using a particular kind of speech act.
- To analyze the reasons behind not using some speech acts.
- To evaluate the intentions behind using their preferred kind of illocutionary speech act.

Research Questions:

1. What kinds of illocutionary speech acts have been used by Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto in their Tweets?
2. Why have they preferred particular kinds of speech acts over others?
3. Why have they avoided the use of some speech acts?
4. What function do they intend to perform by the use of their preferred kind of illocutionary speech act?
5. How do the illocutionary forces shape and affect their online communication via tweets?

Significance

This study will be significant to the existing body of research on illocutionary speech acts as this study highlights the kinds of speech acts used by politicians under study and the illocutionary forces behind them, i.e., the actions that they intend to perform with their tweets. Moreover, this study will serve as a guide for the researchers, students, and teachers of Linguistics for further comparative analysis of any form of text.

2- LITERATURE REVIEW:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

Speech acts are actions performed via words. These are the utterances that, when produced, have some force behind them. Austin in his book, *How to do things with words* (Austin, 1975), basically establishes the performative view of language. He says that when we produce an utterance, we have produced a speech act. He classifies speech acts into three types: locutionary speech acts, illocutionary speech acts, and perlocutionary speech acts. The utterances that we produce are locutionary speech acts that involve just saying. When we have an intention behind producing that utterance and we want it to be fulfilled, that comes under illocutionary speech acts. When that intention is fulfilled by the listener or hearer, that falls under the perlocutionary speech act.

Searle further classified the illocutionary speech acts into five sub-categories: representatives: shows the speaker's beliefs about something; commissives: shows the commitments about future actions; expressives: shows the feelings of speakers; declarations: changes the world order; directives: asking or directing other people to do something (Searle, 1976).

A considerable amount of research has been done in the field of speech acts. Over the course of the past fifty years, different theorists have modified Searle's classification of illocutionary speech acts and have added or merged categories into it depending on the nature of their particular study, hence, proposing their own classification (Allan, 1997; Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981; Compagno et al., 2018; Vanderveken, 1990).

The present study uses Alston's classification of speech acts for data analysis, which he has given in his book, *Illocutionary Acts and Sentence Meaning* (Alston, 2000). He has merged various taxonomies of speech acts and has given a sketch that includes all, namely: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, exercitives.

1- Assertives:

Assertives are used to assert a proposition. It is an utterance in which the speaker confidently states a perspective or a fact. They bind the speaker to trust a particular reality or something being the case. Assertives include: to allege, report, insist, claim, maintain, answer, agree, concede, remark, testify, etc.

2- Directives:

Directives are used when the speaker wants the hearer to do something for him or her. It includes: to ask, request, beseech, implore, tell, command, enjoin, suggest, propose, etc.

3- Commissives:

Commissives are used to commit to perform a particular action in the future after the utterance has been produced. It includes: to promise, bet, guarantee, invite, offer, etc.

4- Expressives:

Expressives are illocutionary acts which speakers or writers use to express their feelings about something. Expressives include: to thank, to apologize, to commiserate, to compliment, to congratulate, to express enthusiasm, to show contempt, to show interest, relief, opinion, willingness, intention, opposition, or unhappiness, etc.

5- Exercitives:

Exercitives are the speech acts that, when uttered, change the worldview. These are usually used by the people who have power and authority to change the world order. Exercitives include: to adjourn, to appoint, to pardon, to name, to nominate, to sentence, to hire, to fire, to approve, to bequeath, etc.

Assertives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Exercitives
allege	ask	promise	thank	adjourn
report	request	bet	apologize	appoint
insist	beseech	guarantee	commiserate	pardon
claim	implore	invite	compliment	name
maintain	tell	offer	congratulate	nominate
answer	command		express:	bequeath
agree	enjoin		enthusiasm	sentence
concede	order		contempt	hire, fire
remark	forbid		interest	approve
mention	advise		relief	
announce	recommend		desire	
testify	suggest		willingness	
remind	propose		intention	
admit			opinion	
disclose			opposition	
deny			agreement	
complain			determination	
predict			unhappiness	
			delight	

Figure 1: Alston's classification of speech acts (Alston, 2000)

PAST RESEARCH:

1- In terms of different taxonomies:

Rabbani et al. (2024) analyzed the illocutionary speech act of flaming using a mixed-method approach in the Twitter discourse produced by Tweepsters who are supporters of the leading political parties in Pakistan, using the classification of *speech act of flaming*, which is a subtype of expressive speech act, as a model (Lingam & Aripin, 2017; Nitin et al., 2012) to extract the features from data using the UAM Corpus Tool for data tagging and annotation. The findings of the study revealed that name-calling, followed by criticism, speculation, straightforwardness, defamation, and degrading were the subcategories of Flaming most frequently found in the data. The findings also revealed that direct or intentional flaming was mostly used, while indirect flaming was used comparatively in a very small frequency, which shows moral and social implications of Twitter trolling.

AlBzour (2022) analyzed the speech acts in the tweets of Donald Trump posted during the 2020 presidential elections, applying Austin's (1962) *Speech Act Theory* and Searle's (1969) *classification and the updated taxonomy of Searle (1976)*. The findings of this research show that Trump's tweets were used both directly and indirectly. It was found that commissives and directives were used rather than representatives and expressives to incite people to act according to his wish, to instigate hate speech, and to inspire his followers to blindly support him in any and every case.

Plakidis and Rehm (2022) analyzed offensive and non-offensive German Language Tweets by applying Searle's (1976) and Compagno et al. taxonomy (2018). A binary classification was used to differentiate between implicit and explicit offensive tweets. The results showed that explicit offensive tweets had more expressives and fewer assertives than non-offensive tweets. In addition to this, implicit offensive tweets had fewer expressives and more assertives. These findings can be helpful for developing automated tools for detecting offensive language used online on social media.

Argyris et al. (2021) analyzed the effect of speech acts on creating positive emotions in complaints on social media interaction. This study applies Ballmer and Brennenstuhl's taxonomy of speech acts (Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981) on a dataset of tweets using machine learning techniques to train models for two dimensions: conventionality and diabolicity. The results show that an agent's use of a dialogic speech act elicits more positive emotions in the customers than monologic speech acts. This study also highlights the use of a specific pair of speech acts in producing positive emotions. In addition to this, this study also expands the speech acts in the field of learners' emotions and complaint management.

Compagno et al. (2018) analyzed speech acts in a corpus-independent way by developing a fine-grained classification of speech acts and a process mining technique. They developed their own framework by merging Searle's model (Searle, 1976) and Vanderveken's detailed taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts (Vanderveken, 1990) and applied it to a subreddit focused on autoimmune diseases. Their findings revealed that conversations are usually non-linear and there are no speech acts that always appear at the start or end of the turn in conversation. Moreover, conversations do have a structure that can be analyzed using computational methods. This study lays the foundation for further analysis of speech acts in digital conversation using a fine-grained classification of speech acts and the process mining technique. This study has implications for analyzing conversations using speech acts, developing tools for real-time analysis, and understanding the structure of conversations in a better way.

A number of past studies on speech act classification on Twitter data are available. The studies consist mainly of the classification of speech acts in Twitter data, applying Searle's model (1976), Compagno et al. taxonomy of speech acts, which is more detailed than Searle's model, Ballmer and Brennenstuhl's classification of speech acts, Vanderveken's detailed taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts. However, no research at the time of this study was found that has applied *Allston's Taxonomy of Speech Acts* (Alston, 2000). He basically has merged various taxonomies.

2- In terms of data collection and analysis:

Saha et al. (2021) explored the impact of emotion and sentiment in social media communication by applying a multi-modal speech act classification, which they developed specifically for Twitter act classification. This modal also incorporates text, images, and emojis along with sentiment and emotion. They applied their framework to a novel dataset called EmoTA, which contains pre-annotated tweets with emotions and sentiment categories. The findings of the study revealed that emotion and sentiment are closely related to each other and incorporating these two with text, images, and emojis improved the performance of speech act classification in Twitter. This study has an implication in better understanding the affective state of the speaker or writer.

Algotiml et al. (2019) proposed a model for recognizing speech acts in tweets in Arabic that the researchers trained with speech acts on a dataset of tweets in Arabic. The findings of the study revealed that their model achieved high accuracy in identifying the speech acts in tweets in Arabic. The results also showed that opinion and question were the most commonly found speech acts in the data. this study has implications in the field of natural language processing for Arabic language social media.

A few past studies have analyzed the corpus of Twitter data in their specific contexts. Manual analysis was mostly performed. However, some researchers have used a machine learning approach to train the software and then got their data classified from it. This has provided valuable insight into natural language processing. The accuracy rates are high but are not 100% therefore, this research aims at doing manual analysis through the descriptive exploratory method to analyze the data keenly and keep the tagging error-free.

3- The discourse of politicians and public figures:

Elliott-Maksymowicz et al. (2021) analyzed the nature of political argumentation on Twitter and how much can be communicated through singular speech acts, applying speech act classification on the Tweets related to the national elections of 2018 in the United States. The findings revealed that tweets used in this context were usually short, having no more than a single speech act. This study also mentions the rhetorical function of images in Tweets and their helpfulness in building persuasive arguments.

Zheni (2020) analyzed speech acts in the tweets of Donald Trump related to the US-Iranian issue that he posted online on Twitter, ranging from 2017 to 2019. Hegemony was also analyzed in his tweets on the Iranian issue which revealed the practices employed by language users and powerful speakers and writers to produce dominance and power abuse through their words to gain political benefits in crisis.

Jafar (2019) analyzed the use of illocutionary speech acts in the tweets of two public figures in Indonesia during the presidential election campaign of 2019. The study revealed that directives and assertives were the most frequently found speech acts in their tweets, which mainly focus on persuading the followers and influencing them through their words, i.e., speech acts. The findings also revealed that public figures use implicatures and presuppositions to spread their indirect messages.

Chandler et al. (2018) analyzed the impact of language and brand on Twitter and whether accommodative language or defensive language affects the stock price. The authors of the study viewed tweets as speech acts. The findings revealed that accommodative language has a negative effect on firm value, while defensive language has a positive effect on it. This study has implications for language use by managers on social media during the launch of a product. Nemer (2016) analyzed the speech patterns of celebrities on Twitter and their way of communicating with their audiences. Four famous celebrities based on Time's list were selected, and data was collected from their Twitter handles. The findings revealed that opinion was the most frequently found speech act in the data, followed by statement and question. The results show the kind of speech acts mostly used by celebrities on Twitter.

Li et al. (2014) gave a way for extracting major life events from Twitter, such as weddings, deaths, etc. based on specific words in the Tweets such as congratulations and condolences. A large dataset of Tweets, which was collected over a time period of six years was used for analysis. A trained machine learning model applied speech act classification on the tweets. The findings revealed that this machine learning model has high accuracy in identifying and extracting major life events from Twitter, which has implications for further machine learning techniques that can be applied to extract data from Twitter.

A few studies on the classification of speech acts with respect to political discourse are also available (Li et al., 2014; Nemer, 2016; Rabbani et al., 2024; Zheni, 2020). However, no comparative analysis has been performed in this regard, neither in Pakistan nor anywhere. This research aims to fulfill this gap by doing a comparative analysis of the political discourse of two leaders of the leading political parties in Pakistan.

3- METHODOLOGY:

The study that is being undertaken is a mixed method design that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative analysis for data observation and interpretation. It is also descriptive as it is based on a subjective observation of the data.

3.1. DATA COLLECTION:

3.1.1. Population:

The tweets posted by Imran Khan (@ImranKhanPTI) and Bilal Bhutto (@BBhuttoZardari) on their Twitter handle are the population of this study.

3.1.2. Sampling:

Purposive sampling, a type of non-random sampling technique (Etikan, 2017), was used to collect data from the Twitter handles of both politicians. This sampling method was used because the selection of tweets was based on the research purpose to collect tweets from specific individuals during a particular time frame that represent political discourse and illocutionary speech act. Hence, no randomization.

3.1.3. Sample:

Data was manually collected from the Twitter handles of both the subjects under study. The data collection started on 31st January 2023. So, 120 tweets of both the politicians (60 each) posted in the last two months on Twitter were collected in reverse order till 1st December 2022.

3.2. PROCESS OF DATA TAGGING:

The researcher manually tagged the data using Alston's framework (Alston, 2000) as a guide for feature identification and the UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell, 2008) which helped in sorting and calculating the frequencies of the data under study.

3.3. RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS:

Imran Khan's Tweets Analysis

ILLOCUTIONARY-SPEECH-ACTS-TYPE	Texts/60 Tweets, 1Dec2022-31Jan2023.txt	
	N	%
- assertives	109	70.8
- directives	5	3.2
- commissives	0	0.0
- expressives	35	22.7
- exercitives	0	0.0
TOTAL:	149	96.8%

Kinds of assertives used by Imran Khan:

ASSERTIVES-TYPE	Texts/60 Tweets, 1Dec2022-31Jan2023.txt	
	N	%
- allege	5	3.2
- report	13	8.4
- insist	2	1.3
- claim	11	7.1
- maintain	4	2.6
- answer	0	0.0
- agree	1	0.6
- concede	0	0.0
- remark	33	21.4
- mention	8	5.2
- announce	5	3.2
- testify	1	0.6
- remind	12	7.8
- admit	0	0.0
- disclose	4	2.6
- deny	0	0.0
- complain	10	6.5
- predict	0	0.0
TOTAL:	109	70.8%

The kinds of assertives he has mostly used are remark (21.4%), report (8.4%), remind (7.8%), claim (7.1%), complain (10%), mention (5.2%), allege, announce (3.2%), maintain, disclose (2.6%), insist (1.3%). Further examples of the sub-categories of assertives are given below:

Remark:

No.	PreText	Examples of Remark	Posttext
1.	victims families.	It is imperative we improve our intelligence gathering	& properly equip ou...
2.	s200bn mini budget.	The law of the jungle now prevails where might is right	& the Constitution...
3.	ong with Pak today.	There is no justice, just law of the jungle.	If State & cabal of...
4.	w of the jungle. If	State & cabal of crooks	think they can crea...

Report:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Report	Posttext
1.	hreat of terrorism.	Total mismanagement of our economy by a corrupt & incompetent imported govt has crushed masses & salaried class with latest hike in petrol	& diesel prices & R...
2.	ons from poor ones.	No NROs, no qabza gps, no custodial torture for tweeting truth abt the powerful bec justice system protects the weak.	Justice was bedrock...
3.	elections. Instead	it uses force, blackmail, police harassment, money to get votes.	Now also clear why...
4.	CP & Establishment,	PTI through massive public support won 75% of bye elections & established itself as a truly national Party.	Despite the gloom r...

Remind:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Remind	Posttext
1.	turn deal with NAB.	SC in suo moto case no 17/2016 declared that in a case of voluntary return a person cannot hold any public office at federal or prov level nor in any state org.	ECP has helped redu...
2.	protest in Sweden.	Last March on our govt's initiative the UNGA passed OIC sponsored landmark Res on International Day to Combat Islamophobia.	It recognised that...
3.	protects the weak.	Justice was bedrock of Riyasat e Madina	When those who wors...
4.	he worst of times".	A govt with one of the best econ performances was removed through a conspiracy triggered by supreme self-interest;	& Pak was handed ov...

Claim:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Claim	Posttext
1.	ple's mind that now	we are a banana republic.	The treatment being...
2.	e got it all wrong.	People are more determined to stand up against this fascism	& my Party & I are...
3.	rights now to save	Pak's drift towards a point of no return.	Lahore rejects this...
4.	am of Pakistan; but	just to get the backing of the Indian lobby he is also ready to bury the Kashmiri freedom struggle in which over 100k Kashmiris have given their lives.	If this is the sort...

Complain:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Complain	Posttext
1	neering of results.	Right now results of LG elections which shd have come out within a few hours at most, were coming out in a staggering delay some for days,	allowing for massiv...

3	nomy to the ground,	this Imported govt has failed to deal with the 50% increase in terrorism in Pak with incidents from Chaman to Swat to Lakki Marwat to Bannu;	They have also fail...
5	worst part is that	this increasing terrorist threat & attacks from across our Western border are finding no space in the discourse of this govt of a cabal of crooks.	All they are intere...
6	s letter's content.	Already Senator Swati continues to suffer the worst form of human rights abuses sadly without any intervention from our honourable Judiciary.	Everyone should rem...

He is the most influential leader in Pakistan, having 18.7 million followers both nationally and internationally on his Twitter account. Moreover, Twitter is a micro-blogging site where people, particularly politicians, give their remarks on several past and current issues. In the data analyzed, remark is the most frequently found assertive because Imran Khan has given his remarks on several issues of the country concerning himself, his party, and other political parties.

Report has a frequency of 8.4%. He reports that he wants to give information on an issue. Remind also has a dominant frequency in the data. Imran Khan reminds people of past events, of glorious days when he was in the government, and of the cruelties of his political opponents. He makes claims when he talks about a better or worse future. He also complains about the atrocities of his opponents, and he also briefly mentions many political changes.

Kinds of directives used by Imran Khan:

DIRECTIVES-TYPE	Texts/60 Tweets, 1Dec2022-31Jan2023.txt	
	N	%
- ask	0	0.0
- request	1	0.6
- beseech	0	0.0
- implore	0	0.0
- tell	0	0.0
- command	0	0.0
- enjoin	3	1.9
- order	0	0.0
- forbid	0	0.0
- advise	0	0.0
- recommend	0	0.0
- suggest	0	0.0
- propose	1	0.6
TOTAL:	5	3.2%

The frequency of directives used by Imran Khan is very low. A total of 5 instances are found, having a frequency of 3.2%. He has only used directives to enjoin and urge people to do something.

No.	Pretext	Examples of Directives	Posttext
1.	s go to his family.	I urge people in Karachi, Hyderabad and Dadu to come out and vote.	Their vote today is...

2.	Daylight robbery!	Had instructed lawyers in UK, incldng Leading Counsel, to start legal proceedings against Geo TV Limited pursuant to the Pre Action Protocol for Media & Communications Claim	s.A formal letter of...
3.	itical journalists.	The 74 yr old heart patient Senator Swati must be released immed	not only bec he has...

Kinds of expressives used by Imran Khan:

EXPRESSIVES-TYPE	Texts/60 Tweets, 1Dec2022-31Jan2023.txt	
	N	%
- thank	0	0.0
- apologise	0	0.0
- commiserate	5	3.2
- compliment	4	2.6
- congratulate	3	1.9
- express	0	0.0
- enthusiasm	0	0.0
- contempt	1	0.6
- interest	0	0.0
- relief	0	0.0
- desire	4	2.6
- willingness	1	0.6
- intention	2	1.3
- opinion	3	1.9
- opposition	5	3.2
- agreement	0	0.0
- determination	1	0.6
- unhappiness	6	3.9
- delight	0	0.0
TOTAL:	35	22.7%

The expressives used by Imran Khan are less than assertives because he is more logical and straightforward in his speech and less emotional. In expressives, he has mostly used commiserate to pay his condolences, unhappiness to show his sadness on the passing away of people, compliment to appreciate people, and congratulate to be happy on the success of his friends.

Unhappiness:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Unhappiness	Posttext
1.	ers sabotaged EVMs.	Shocked & deeply saddened to learn of the assassination of former SCBA President & senior advocate Latif Afridi in the Bar Room of Peshawar High Court.	My deepest condolen...
2.	d the country into.	Saddened to learn of the passing of Jaffar Leghari.	He was a friend for...
3.	last four decades.	Sadly he lost his battle with cancer despite putting up a great fight.	My condolences & pr...
4.	ter climate change.	The entire nation is shocked at the vindictive cruelty Senator Azam Swati is being subjected to & for what crime?	For intemperate la...

The expressions of sadness and shock are also merged in the category of unhappiness.

Commiserate:

Commiserate means to show sympathy or pity towards something. The act of paying condolences has also been added in this sub-category.

No.	Pretext	Examples of Commiserate	Posttext
1.	war during prayers.	My prayers & condolences go to victims' families.	It is imperative we...
2.	eshawar High Court.	My deepest condolences & prayers go to his family.	I urge people in Ka...
3.	the police station.	My condolences & prayers go to the families of the martyrs.	The KP govt & its p...
4.	g up a great fight.	My condolences & prayers go to his family.	May Allah give them...

Opposition:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Opposition	Posttext
1.	this entire farce.	Strongly condemn burning of Holy Quran yesterday at a protest in Sweden.	Last March on our g...
2.	g specific targets.	We strongly condemn these terrorist acts & threats.	Had an excellent me...
3.	ery happy Chrstmas.	Strongly condemn the suicide terrorist attack in Islamabad today.	Salute the brave po...
4.	s go to the family.	The vengeful manner in which Senator Swati is being treated is shocking & condemnable.	He was moved to PIM.

Compliment:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Compliment	Posttext
1.	ist acts & threats.	Had an excellent meeting with Allama Raja Nasir & MWM delegation yesterday.	All misunderstandi n...
2.	he worst of times".	A govt with one of the best econ performances	was removed through...
3.	in Islamabad today.	Salute the brave police officer who was martyred saving lives & greater destruction.	The law & order sit...
4.	Karim Aga Khan IV.	We appreciate his valuable support for & contribution to socio economic development in Pakistan.	After what happened..

Desire:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Desire	Posttext
1.	s go to his family.	May Allah give them the strength and patience to bear this loss.	By not implementing..
2.	of citizens rights.	Wishing all our Christian citizens a very happy Chrstmas.	Strongly condemn th...
3.	all your struggles.	I wish you the very best of success in all your endeavours as Prime Minister.	Warmest greetings o...
4.	rld Cup semi final.	Wishing them success in the semi final & beyond.	Sealing of Centauru...

Bilawal Bhutto's Tweets Analysis

ILLOCUTIONARY-SPEECH-ACTS-TYPE	Texts/Bilawal Bhutto Tweets.txt	
	N	%
- assertives	74	45.4
- directives	1	0.6
- commissives	0	0.0
- expressives	87	53.4
- exercitives	0	0.0
TOTAL:	162	99.4%

Kinds of assertives used by Bilawal Bhutto:

ASSERTIVES-TYPE	Texts/Bilawal Bhutto Tweets.txt	
	N	%
- allege	1	0.6
- report	27	16.6
- insist	6	3.7
- claim	14	8.6
- maintain	2	1.2
- answer	0	0.0
- agree	0	0.0
- concede	0	0.0
- remark	15	9.2
- mention	3	1.8
- announce	4	2.5
- testify	0	0.0
- remind	1	0.6
- admit	0	0.0
- disclose	0	0.0
- deny	1	0.6
- complain	0	0.0
- predict	0	0.0
TOTAL:	74	45.4%

The data analysis shows that Bilawal Bhutto uses fewer assertives than expressives. In assertives, he mostly reports on his meetings and gives remarks on the political situation in the country. He makes claims about the future and insists that people vote for his party.

Reports:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Reports	Posttext
1.	artner of #Africa. P	κ💖CD Had a good discussion with David MacLennan, Exe Chair of the Board @Cargill on #WEF23 sidelines, particularly on their operations in	PK Encouraged Cargi...
2.	e sustainable world	Spoke to Acting Foreign Minister of #Afg Amir Khan Muttaqi today	; condemned the terr...
3.	defeat this menace.	Met Amb Blome @USEmbIslamabad at MoFA today.	Thanked us for \$100...
4.	health & security.	Received @AmbNong of CN & bid him adieu at end of his successful tenure.	Diplomats of PKCN a...

Remark:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Remark	Posttext
1.	will challenge him.	We cannot let populist fiction dominate our discourse, poison our politics & damage our democracy.	We will not tolerat...
2.	tical frontmen. 6/6	His latest accusation that my family has any association to a terrorist organization or that we would employ them to cause him harm not only defies logic but exposes us all to an increased threat.	5/6 Imran must real...
3.	creased threat. 5/6	Imran must realize every time his wife has a dream he cannot just come on tv & make accusations about people.	Her dreams won't st...
4.	ormer president AZ.	These statements increase threats to my father, my family and my part.	We take them seriou...

Claim:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Claim	Posttext
1.	...tions about people.	Her dreams won't stand up in court.	4/6 When in power h...
2.	a founding member.	Pakistan will continue to play its role in promoting development & connectivity in ECO region.	@ECO_int @PakinIran...
3.	his LB elections IA	#YeShaherHyderabadBhuttoKa	#HyderabadHumS abKa...
4.	#HyderabadHu mSabKa	According to feed back from our polling agents, single largest party in Karachi will be PPP IA.	Overwhelmed by the...

Kinds of Directives used by Bilawal Bhutto:

DIRECTIVES-TYPE	Texts/Bilawal Bhutto Tweets.txt	
	N	%
- ask	0	0.0
- request	1	0.6
- beseech	0	0.0
- implore	0	0.0
- tell	0	0.0
- command	0	0.0
- enjoin	0	0.0
- order	0	0.0
- forbid	0	0.0
- advise	0	0.0
- recommend	0	0.0
- suggest	0	0.0
- propose	0	0.0
TOTAL:	1	0.6%

Bilawal Bhutto doesn't use many directives. Only one instance of a directive was found in his tweets in which he requested people to come out of their homes and vote for him.

No.	Pretext	Examples of Directives	Posttext
1.	at hony ja rhy han.	Meri awam se guzarish hai k bahir niklen or teer p mohr lga kr Pakistan people party k umeedwaaron ko kamyab bnayen	ta k hm apny sooby...

Kinds of expressives used by Bilawal Bhutto:

EXPRESSIVES-TYPE	Texts/Bilawal Bhutto Tweets.txt	
	N	%
- thank	11	6.7
- apologise	1	0.6
- commiserate	4	2.5
- compliment	15	9.2
- congratulate	5	3.1
- express	0	0.0
- enthusiasm	4	2.5
- contempt	0	0.0
- interest	1	0.6
- relief	0	0.0
- desire	7	4.3
- willingness	0	0.0
- intention	0	0.0
- opinion	4	2.5
- opposition	4	2.5
- agreement	1	0.6
- determination	0	0.0
- unhappiness	3	1.8
- delight	26	16.0
TOTAL:	86	52.8%

Expressives were most frequently found in his tweets. He mostly has shown delight, compliments, and thanks.

Delight:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Delight	Posttext
1.	the path to peace.	Great honor, PK @NaumanMFA elected Co-Chair of green climate fund @t	heGCF Board for 2023...
2.	n Rights Watch @hrw	As always, pleasure to meet my brother FM of IR @Amirabdollahian, this time on ECO COM sidelines.	With fraternal, rel...
3.	to unlock together.	Pleased to meet ECO SG Amb Khusrav Noziri at Tashkent on sidelines of 26th COM meeting of #ECO.	Reiterated PK's com...
4.	, Uzbekistan today.	Happy to note upward trajectory of our strong relationship & resolved to unlock more potential in trade, eco & connectivity.	PK🤝TJ Met my brothe...

Compliments:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Compliments	Posttext
1.	peace in the world	Had a very good meeting with @WFPChief David Beasley.	Conveyed appreciati...
2.	Chief David Beasley.	Conveyed appreciation for WFP's assistance for flood affectees.	Took stock of the o...
3.	ong with the USA US	We appreciate the confidence reposed in us.	As one of the worst...
4.	of mutual interest.	Appreciated ZA's support & solidarity post floods.	Resolved to further...

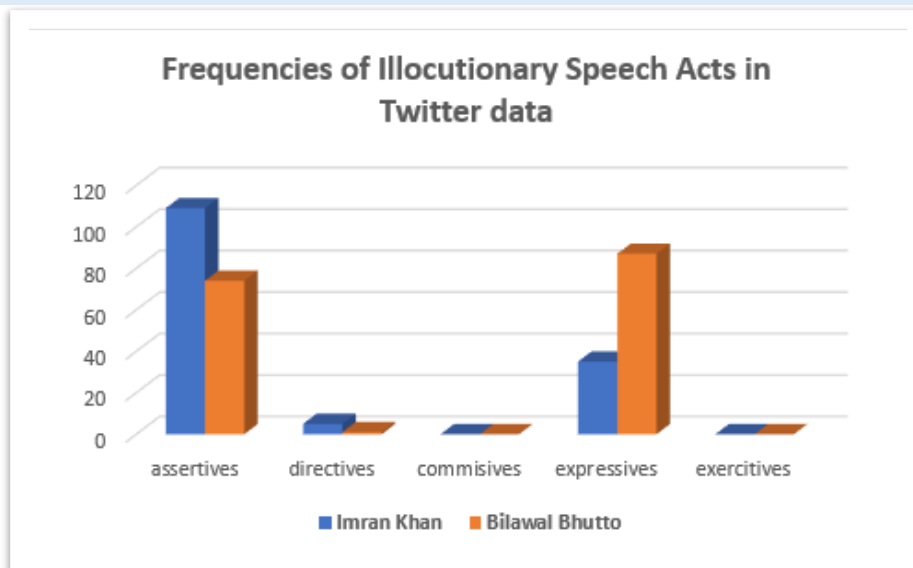
Thank:

No.	Pretext	Examples of Thank	Posttext
1.	ition targets. #NPB	my sincere thanks to FM @MinColonna for the condolences and solidarity in the face of such tragedy	Strongly condemn th...
2.	OM-ECO in Tashkent.	Thanked him for participating at PK Resilient Conf in Geneva.	Discussed all issue...
3.	ted fraternal ties.	Expressed gratitude for SA long-standing support & reiterated our resolve to deepen bilat coop in all areas.	Really happy to hav...
4.	r will be a jiyala!	Grateful to the people of Hyderabad for their support.	Historic win for PP...

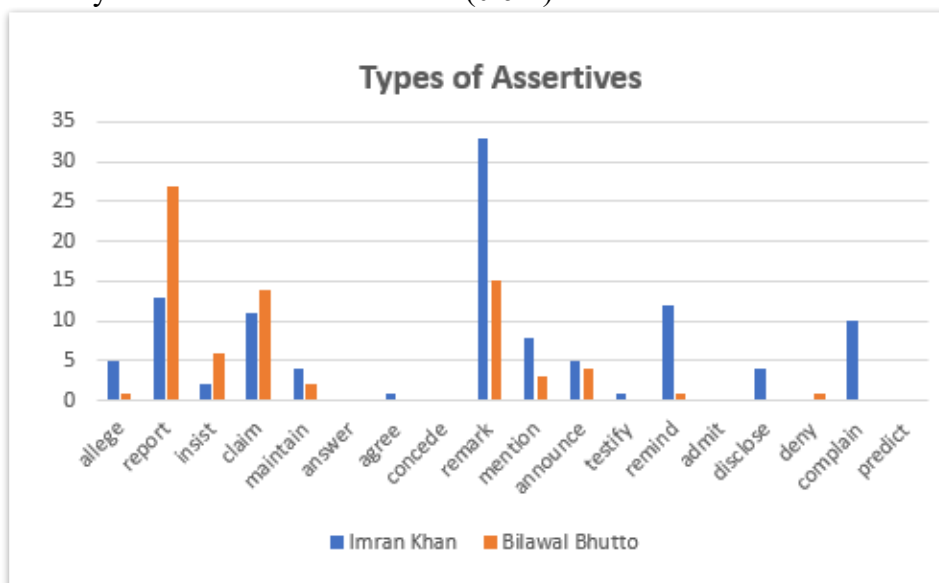
Comparison of Imran Khan's Tweets with Bilawal Bhutto:

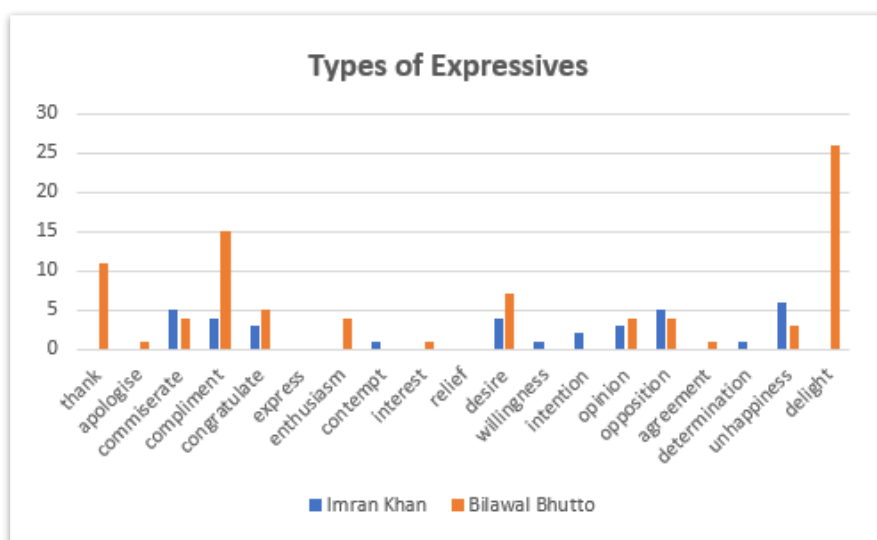
ILLOCUTIONARY-SPEECH-ACTS-TYPE	Texts/60 Tweets, 1Dec2022-31Jan2023.txt		Texts/Bilawal Bhutto Tweets.txt	
	N	%	N	%
- assertives	109	70.8	74	45.4
- directives	5	3.2	1	0.6
- commissives	0	0.0	0	0.0
- expressives	35	22.7	87	53.4
- exercitives	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL:	149	96.8%	162	99.4%

4- FINDINGS:



The results show that assertives are the most frequent kind of illocutionary speech acts (i.e. 70.8%) used by Imran Khan, followed by expressives (22.7%), and very few instances of directives (3.2%) were found. The results also suggested that assertives are the most frequent kind of illocutionary speech acts used by Bilawal Bhutto (i.e., 45.4%), followed by expressives (53.4%), and very few instances of directives (0.6%) were found.





In addition to it, the results revealed that Bilawal Bhutto uses various kinds of expressives namely delight, compliment, thank, desire, congratulate, enthusiasm, commiserate, opinion, opposition, unhappiness, etc. On the other hand, Imran Khan uses very few kinds of expressives namely unhappiness, commiserate, opposition, compliment, congratulate, etc., and that too in comparatively less frequency than Bilawal Bhutto.

5- INTERPRETATION:

The stats show that both the subjects under study, i.e., Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto, use assertive, expressive, and directive speech acts in their Tweets. They completely avoid the use of commissives and exercitives because they are democrats. Democrats are not in the position to use exercitives in their speech. This is related to the people who are in a position to exercise their legal rights or authority verbally, such as the judiciary, etc. Although commissives could be used in their speech given the political condition in the country for the past two months, commissives are also completely avoided because neither the leaders of their respective political parties are in a position to commit to anything because the election campaign isn't going on yet. There is political uncertainty and turmoil in the country. That's why no commissives are used by either of the leaders.

Examples of Illocutionary Speech Acts in Imran Khan's Tweets:

- i. *The law of the jungle now prevails where might is right. (Assertive; Report)*
- ii. *it uses force, blackmail, police harassment, money to get votes. (Assertive; Remark)*
- iii. *we are a banana republic. (Assertive; Claim)*
- iv. *Saddened to learn of the passing of Jaffar Leghari. (Expressive; Unhappiness)*
- v. *We appreciate his valuable support for & contribution to socio economic development in Pakistan. (Expressive; Compliment)*

In light of the data analyzed, it can be said that assertives were most frequently used by Imran Khan. Assertives are used when the speaker is sure of something. These are also used when the speaker puts forward a proposition that he believes to be true. Imran Khan is the chairman of a leading political party in Pakistan. He is also the ex-president of Pakistan. He is in the position to use assertives because he and his party revolve around his 'insaafi' ideology mainly. They don't propagate lies.

Examples of Illocutionary Speech Acts in Bilawal Bhutto's Tweets:

- i. *We cannot let populist fiction dominate our discourse, poison our politics & damage our democracy. (Assertive; Remark)*
- ii. *Her dreams won't stand up in court. (Assertive; Claim)*

- iii. *Pleased to meet ECO SG Amb Khusrav Noziri at Tashkent on sidelines of 26th COM meeting of #ECO. (Expressive; Delight)*
- iv. *We appreciate the confidence reposed in us. (Expressive; Compliment)*
- v. *My sincere thanks to FM @MinColonna for the condolences and solidarity in the face of such tragedy. (Expressive; Thank)*

Bilawal Bhutto, on the other hand, uses more expressives and fewer assertives. That's mainly because he is the federal minister and has the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His role demands him to meet other ministers and people in high-power positions. Therefore, he shows delight in meeting them, thanks them, and gives out compliments a lot to them.

6- CONCLUSION:

The political discourse produced on Twitter in the form of Tweets of two politicians of leading political parties in Pakistan was analyzed. The framework used for this analysis was Alston's taxonomy, and the UAM Corpus Tool was used to tag the data. This software also helped in collecting frequencies of all the kinds and sub-categories of illocutionary speech acts.

The findings revealed that assertives, followed by expressives, were most frequently used by both politicians in their Twitter discourse. Very few instances of directives were also found. However, no instances of commissives and exercitives were found in the study.

On the basis of this study, it can be concluded that politicians use a particular kind of speech act to perform a particular function. They have intentions behind preferring some kind of speech acts. However, the speech acts that they avoid using are also significant. That shows that they are deliberately avoiding the use of some speech acts, as in the case of this study, commissives and exercitives were not found. The reason could be the use of power and authority of the respective politicians, which they avoided in their Twitter discourse, as it is public and goes to the masses.

7- IMPLICATIONS:

This study will be helpful for academicians, particularly students, teachers, and researchers of Linguistics. Furthermore, the results of this study could be considered in the field of English language teaching while studying or teaching the political discourse and how the illocutionary force of speech acts shapes the political discourse.

In addition to it, this study is also beneficial for the students, teachers, and researchers of mass communication as this will provide them with an insight into social media communication, the use of language in it, and its effect on the general audience.

Moreover, this study is also beneficial for the awareness of the general public as it will provide them with an insight into the use of language and the possible intentions behind the language use of their political leaders.

8- LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS:

Although this study has tried to fill the research gap of comparative political discourse analysis of tweets in the Pakistani context by applying Alston's taxonomy on data of two months collected from the Twitter handles of these two politicians under study, however, this study can be advanced in terms of data collection. A wide range of data collected randomly from these political leaders over an extended period of time could be more impactful in generalizing the results. Moreover, the political discourse of other leading political leaders in the country can also be analyzed on a broader level to generalize the results of political discourse on Twitter of Pakistani politicians and the illocutionary forces behind that.

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